Vol. XI, No. 3 HUMAN EVENTS January 20, 1954

THE MARTYRS OF ACADEME

By PAUL JONES

MY FRIEND, THE DEVIL'S ADVOCATE, dropped by again the other day and I inquired what assignment he was pursuing these days.

"A case of alleged mass martyrdom", he explained. "It is a serious matter. As you are aware, all martyrs deserve especial honor, and, perhaps for that reason, we examine their credentials with extra care. My division views with deep distrust those who seem to seek martyrdom, who go out of their way to put themselves in the path of persecution.

"To cite an extreme case, an aspirant martyr must not invite a lion to take pot-luck with him, or build his own funeral pyre, except under compulsion."

"And what is this case of reported mass martyrdom?"

"It concerns the educators of America. There are a million, more or less, teachers of all kinds in the United States. From reports, they are being martyrized because the Congress is trying to determine how far organized Communism has infiltrated the schools and colleges."

"An open and shut case", I said. "Surely you have read of the book burnings, of the denials of the right to teach even what Communism is. Are the young people of this country to grow up in ignorance of the enemy?"

"I have read a great deal about book burning, and of teachers being forbidden even to mention the word Communism in the classroom", he said drily. "But I can find no solid evidence of any such things. You understand, I deal in facts.

"There is a difference", he went on, "between explaining what Communism is and promoting Communism and recruiting for the party ranks. Cannibalism, for example, can hardly be omitted from a review of primitive cultures. But an anthropology professor who fricasseed the dean of liberal arts and served him up as the *piece de resistance* at the senior banquet might properly be charged with raising an irrelevant point, if he invoked academic freedom, when the facts came out.

"Sworn testimony brought out one case of a young man who joined the National Students Union at an old New England college. The N. S. U. has since been identified, by the Congressional committees you deplore, as a Communist transmission belt. The

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day after our young friend graduated, he was visited by the area organizer for the C.P. who attempted to enroll him in the Communist Party.

"Thereafter, kind friends on the college faculty found him a nice job with a small publication of the most innocent appearance. It has since been nailed as a Communist Party front, and its editor identified repeatedly as a member of the Communist Party. After a period of war service, the same kind friends on the college faculty found their young graduate one job after another, each of which turned out to have Communist ties.

"Now, this isn't some kind of utopian idealism we are talking about. It isn't a liberal opinion or a lofty thought. The connection between the Communist Party (U.S.) and espionage in the service of a foreign and hostile power has been unmistakably demonstrated."

"BUT THERE MUST BE SOMETHING called academic freedom", I objected.

"Of course. It is the freedom to teach, not freedom to organize conspiracies within the schools and colleges."

"But the Congressional committees subject perfectly innocent professors to inquisitions that can only be called medieval. Can you blame them for taking refuge in a dignified silence? Their attitude, as I understand it, is that Congress has no right to invade the field of education. Otherwise, aren't we going back to the Dark Ages?"

"On the contrary. It is your mum scholars who are reverting to the Middle Ages. What they are doing is claiming the Benefit of Clergy, under which any learned person could deny the jurisdiction of the civil courts. In practice, all a prisoner had to do was show ability to read a verse of the Bible, and he was discharged. He didn't have to be in holy orders. Or even a teacher. A little knowledge of Latin got him off.

"As a matter of fact, one of the last cases in this country when the Benefit of Clergy was pleaded successfully was in 1770, when old John Adams secured the release of the two British soldiers found guilty of manslaughter after the Boston Massacre, on the ground that they could read."

"Surely there's a difference between then and now."

"What difference? In this case, professors have been known to sit mumchance, invoking the Fifth Amendment before the investigating committee, and then go outside and issue press releases saying what they had just refused to say to Senators or Congressmen. They have often been known to claim that they had no objection to telling all to a faculty committee or the board of trustees of their college, who must therefore be their equivalent of the ecclesiastical courts universally recognized in the West 500 years ago. Isn't that Benefit of Clergy? Who is being medieval here? Isn't it the petulant don who waves a diploma in the hearing room, and contends that his parchment delivers and assoils him from the ordinary civic duties of a loyal American?"

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"As usual, you put things oddly."

"And I am assuming that the witness is innocent", said the D. A. "I take their best case. But their best case presents an unwordly man, strangely resembling a boob, it is true, but clinging to some vestigial notions of a time when even the archers of the watch could not pursue a student in cap and grown."

"BUT CONGRESS SHOULD KEEP OUT of the field of education, just the same."

"In the sense you mean that, I agree. But I can find no martyr in a man who gets huffy because somebody asks whether he is now or ever has been a member of a party definitely linked with a subversive underground."

"He may not know that."

"If he doesn't, he must be a strange kind of scholar. There are better than 10,000 pages of sworn printed testimony available for the asking. If he were going to the original sources for a learned monograph on the dynastic wars for the possession of Roussillon, that much reading would be a breeze. A mere summer's canter, leaving plenty of time for tennis and small boat sailing. But the same man won't even look at the available evidence on what he's trying to talk about in relation to the events of today."

"Why not let the schools and colleges handle it themselves?"

"There you are back to the Benefit of Clergy. But, as I have just pointed out, the colleges appear quite unwilling to do the job. The public schools have done much better, notably in New York City. However, I must point out that without the work of the Congressional committees, it is not at all sure that anybody else would have done anything at all."

"The F.B.I., as Mr. Truman told us, was on guard."

"It certainly was, and Mr. Hoover knows as much about Communist infiltration as anybody in the country. But the F.B.I. is the police arm of the Justice Department. Every experienced reporter or lawyer knows that the most honest Chief of Police is helpless, if the District Attorney's office ignores his crime reports and fails to draw an indictment or make a presentment to the Grand Jury. We have just heard how the White House and the Justice Department smothered F.B.I. reports definitely identifying the late Harry Dexter White as a Soviet agent. In spite of Mr. J. Edgar Hoover and the Federal Bureau of Investigation, he was appointed to still another high Federal post."

"You may have a point about the Congressional committees, as far as their objectives go. But their methods?"

"What about their methods?"

"Inquisitorial, medieval torture."

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"IT IS STRANGE", said the Devil's Advocate, "how the self-annointed martyrs have succeeded in selling that idea. I must conclude that only a few people have ever read the verbatim reports or witnessed a hearing. And don't you realize that the technique of the Communist or crypto-Communist is always to bait, harass and enrage the investigator? If they can draw answering fire, they are in a position to pose as martyrs. You saw it in the long trial before Judge Medina. Can't you recognize it in the Congressional hearings?

"Since you mention medieval practices again, let me remind you that our academic friends who charge the Congress with medieval methods claim another medieval right for themselves. They lean not only on Benefit of Clergy, but also on the Right of Sanctuary.

"You will remember that centuries ago certain areas, such as the precincts of churches and colleges, were deemed inviolable. The worst felon, if only he could manage to get into the area of sanctuary, was perfectly safe as long as he remained within its boundaries. The catchpolls could merely stand outside and gnash their teeth."

"That was long ago."

"It has been revived. I find professors who went out into the world and formed committees. They signed petitions and agitated for treasonable causes. In some cases, they influenced disastrously the policies of this nation, while holding official posts. But now they seem to contend that retreat to a college campus entitles them to a modern right of sanctuary.

"There they are, inviolate, according to them, answerable only to their board of trustees, no matter what their activities or connections were in the past. For that matter, if today they now and then skip over the boundary and do a little more damage to the public weal, they need only rush back into the Holy of Holies. One step over the sanctified boundaries of the campus and they are safe, they claim, from questioning. What rot!"

"Then you do not certify them as martyrs?"

"I think", said the D. A., "that, of our million teachers all over the country, not more than 10,000 even think of themselves as martyrs, no matter what resolutions are passed in their name at conventions. And of those perhaps one thousand are very vocal about their martyrdom. Most of them will bear watching on other and serious grounds. But, as a case of mass martyrdom, my division must render an adverse report on Academe."

Mr. Paul Jones has been doing editorials for the Philadelphia *Evening Bulletin* for the last dozen years. He has also contributed articles to *Colliers* and the *Saturday Evening Post.*

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HUMAN EVENTS

FRANK C. HANIGHEN, *Editor* FRANK CHODOROV, *Associate Editor*

Volume XI, No. 3 Wednesday, January 20, 1954 Washington, D. C.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS RECEIVED JAN 27 1954

President's Stand: President Eisenhower has called upon Congress for a considerable amount of positive legislation. If the things he has asked for are translated into law, the Executive branch of the government will be invested with many new duties and with the power to execute them. However, there is one request he has made, and only one, that is decidedly negative: he asked that the proposed Bricker amendment be killed. Also, it is noted, this was the only bill left over from the last session of Congress — there are hundreds — that he picked out to mention. These facts possess no little significance, for the following reasons:

The Bricker proposal would limit the power of the Executive branch. Its enactment would give Congress some power of restraining the Presidency in its commitments with foreign nations; it would give the Legislative branch a voice in foreign affairs, a voice that has long been denied that body, a voice that might have offset (if the amendment had been in effect) the damaging dictates of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam. That is what the Presidency is against — any limitation of its power.

Therein we see the continuation of that struggle to upset the balance of the three divisions of our national government which began almost immediately after the Constitution was adopted in 1789. The Founding Fathers thought they had preserved that delicate balance by the terms of the Constitution, but men being what they are, ways and means for circumventing that instrument have been found in the eternal struggle for power. Congress has become less important, the Executive more important and, since the regime of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the Legislative branch has lost a considerable amount of its former prestige. The Bricker proposal, which is decidedly in the opposite direction, is a highly necessary step. For, it is not on record that an Executive has ever in the history of the world voluntarily relinquished power.

Book Burning: The story to end all stories about the great farce of the year 1953 known as the "book burning" controversy is now abroad on many tongues in this city of disillusions and few here, even among the hysterical "McLiberals", now care to invoke that inflammatory phrase.

The stark fact is that the classic instance of mass book destruction (there never was really any incineration) was not the withdrawal of a few pro-Communist volumes from the overseas libraries by the State Department (after the American people's indignation forced the step). The big example of mass destruction of books occurred under the Democratic New Deal President Harry S. Truman in the year 1946; the place of the *auto da fe* was Germany, and the volumes destroyed were not Communist books but — at least officially — Nazi and "militaristic" books.

And who was the great American who set his signature to the order to implement this act of "book burning"? None other than General Lucius Clay, then U.S. commander in Germany, now the front man for the extraordinary alliance of Communists and pro-Communists, McLiberals, Anglophiles, one-worlders and pacifists, come together to defeat Senator Bricker's famous amendment (to keep the U.S. from giving up its sovereignty). We refer to the Committee to Defend the Constitution by Preserving the Treaty Power (as described in this publication in recent numbers).

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We have in our possession a photostat of Order No. 4, dated May 13, 1946, and entitled "Confiscation of Literature and Material of a Nazi and Militarist Nature" and commencing as follows: "Bearing in mind the danger presented by the National Socialist doctrine and in order to eradicate as soon as possible National Socialist, Fascist, Militarist and Anti-Democratic ideas in all forms in which they found expression throughout Germany, the Control Council orders as follows:" Then it lists owners of bookshops, libraries, etc., who are bidden to "hand over all books, pamphlets, magazines", etc., "the contents of which include Nazi propaganda, including Nazi 'racial' theories and incitements to aggression, as well as those containing propaganda directed against the United States"; and the proscribed material includes likewise textbooks and other teaching material for military educational institutions, etc. Finally, "All publications and material mentioned in this order shall be placed at the disposal of the Military Zone Commanders for destruction." Then the document lists the French, British, Russian commanders signing together with "Lucius D. Clay, Lieutenant General".

Now, it is true that a subsequent Military report of Clay specifies that no books should be "burned". But that was to save pulp. The forbidden volumes were macerated and the pulp added to the already scant store of paper raw material. We understand from reliable authorities this great mass destruction of "Nazi and military" books actually included many of the German classics — such as the works of Goethe and Lessing, and innocuous school textbooks — because such volumes bore the swastika on the bindings. The story in detail of this extraordinary case of "book burning" remains yet to be told. There is no record so far available showing that those who expressed horror at the withdrawal of pro-Communist books from our overseas libraries took any exception to the above mass destruction.

Anyway, the above proceedings reduce to the level of farce the hysterical objections of the withdrawal of the few volumes from State Department overseas libraries. The Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, which recently released such facts and presented the above, commented: "Americans are now asked to believe that it was good to destroy Nazi and Fascist literature, but that it was bad and a crime against culture and civilization to remove Communist books from the United States Government-sponsored libraries abroad. Book burning, sauce for the Nazi goose, was not sauce for the Communist gander. In our opinion, neither the propaganda of the Nazis or the Communists should be encouraged or promoted by the United States Government."

Not Merely Gossip: On Capitol Hill, it is rumored that an investigation of an old but important case involving subversive activities may take place soon. The reference is to the "case of the counterintelligence files". Towards the end of the late war, a War Department directive was issued authorizing the destruction of files on such activities. Destruction of these files is illegal, and when certain Senators heard of the order, they descended upon Secretary of War Stimson and forced the order to be withdrawn. At the time, it was believed that members of F.D.R.'s official family wanted to protect friends by having this order enforced.

● C. D. Jackson, regarded as among the first, if not the first, of the Ike braintrusters, has been privately saying he will resign from his White House job very soon. The reason is a familiar one in Washington: he has personally sacrificed much financially in service of the Government and wants to get back into his former place in the *Time-Life* organization. Of course, this may be the whole truth, but this sort of explanation has been often heard before in official Washington and skeptics are many in this city. The latter wonder if "C.D." isn't anxious about the stability of his position in the White House and is preparing his friends for the time when he will have to get out.

● Well-informed observers who have very recently visited England bring back tales not only of the prevalent anti-Americanism there, but also of rising pro-Russianism and pro-Sovietism, as a result of Winston Churchill's new honeymoon with Moscow. English writers who try to defend the U.S. congres-

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sional investigations of Communism are literally "blackballed" in Fleet Street and virtually deprived of their livelihood. But the crowning evidence of this English rapprochement with Bolshevism comes from one of our intelligence officers who reports that when, last fall, the Greenwich Naval College gave a series of lectures for senior officers, one lecture dealt with Communism. Who was the lecturer? None other than the Dean of Canterbury, Reverend Hewlett Johnson, known the world over as the "Red Dean" for his violent and extravagent praise of the Soviet Union.

Bound Volumes: About March 1, bound volumes of the 1953 issues of HUMAN EVENTS, with a topical index, will be available. Orders are being taken now. The price is $4.00.

March on Washington: Local observers are awaiting with special interest the so-called "march on Washington" of people from all over the country to demand that Congress pass the Bricker Amendment. As a matter of fact, this is not expected to prove any real mass demonstration itself. It will be, if reports we get are accurate, simply a gathering of representatives of several score of various local and regional organizations, many of them women's groups. They will bring petitions to Congress in favor of the amendment. That from California, it is claimed, will contain some 50,000 names. At least a half million signatures will be on the petitions, it is asserted.

But that is not the reason for special interest in this gathering. Observers here will watch keenly the proceedings in view of the report, now current here, that this occasion may touch off a demand for a new overall organization of which the various groups represented here would be constituent parts. Observers who have for some time noted considerable political ferment throughout the country and scanned the political horizon for some resultant new organization, will look eagerly at the coming convention. It may be that Senator Bricker's personality (in which there is a strong evangelical strain) and his role in the fight for the amendment may provide the long-sought leadership; the Ohioan might be the logical successor of the man who formerly commanded the allegiance of most of these people — Bricker's old colleague, the late Senator Taft.

Hidden Third Party: Every now and then some discouraged followers of the late Senator Taft or General MacArthur raise a cry for a "third party". Actually, according to Representative Coudert (R., N.Y.) there is really in operation today a "hidden" third party which has caused much of the dislocation in our political situation and resulted in the pitting of Congress against President. Coudert in a recent speech in New York (entered in the *Congressional Record*, January 13, Page A170-1) said:

"The present electoral system has brought into being what is in effect a hidden third party which operates within both parties and largely influences the national nominating conventions of both the Democrats and Republicans, thus acquiring disproportionate power at the White House level. This hidden third party is less concerned with the Congress except as a ratifying body for the proposals of strong Presidents. It is the source of the long-sustained assault on Congress as an institution, an assault of more than 20 years' duration.

"This hidden third party exists effectively solely because of the en-bloc system of electing presidential electors. It operates a balance of power on the long levers of large blocs of electoral votes in the big States, electoral votes that are necessary for victory in presidential elections. It is made up of single-interest voters organized into political pressure groups. . . ."

Coudert explains: "In 1917 the Socialist Party polled 22 per cent of the New York City vote for its candidate for mayor. In the 1953 election, its lineal descendents, the Liberal and American Labor Parties, polled 24 per cent of the city's vote. In intervening elections and under a variety of party labels this vote did not fall below one-fifth of the city total, which equals one-tenth of the statewide vote.

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"The importance of New York's electoral vote, and the balance-of-power position of this splinter-party and pressure-group [consisting of] 10 per cent of the State's electorate, in swinging elections, has virtually compelled presidential candidates of all parties to woo these voters. Together with their counterparts in a few other States these voters have tremendously magnified power in the President's constituency. In the constituency of the whole Congress, where they are reckoned by their actual numbers, they have no disproportionate impact. Hence the ideological struggle between the President and the Congress."

Coudert adduces the above arguments in favor of the constitutional amendment (which he and Senator Mundt have offered) to reform the electoral college; to return it to the original system used in the days of the Founding Fathers, that is, to have each elector elected from a Congressional district; to end the bloc system, by which all electoral votes in any state go to the presidential candidate who gets a popular majority; and to reduce the swollen power of the big city states in the election of presidents.

Revisionism: The debunking of official history now includes not only the official version of how we got into World Wars I and II, but also of some history which because of "liberal" domination of the academic world has been perverted to smear capitalism in the interests of expanding socialism. John Chamberlain, writing in *Barron's* (January 4) recalls that the stories about the sweating of children in Manchester slum workshops and other evidences of the cruelty of the British factory situation in the early 19th Century "have colored a hundred years of history, shaping it into the collectivist form of Labor Government England and New Deal America". And this version, he recalls, has been told "again and again by a long list of writers from Frederick Engels (Karl Marx's 'angel' and collaborator) to the authors of 'The Town Labourer', by J. L. and Barbara Hammond".

But what was the real story? Chamberlain relates: "T. S. Ashton and W. H. Hutt, two skeptical English economic historians, volunteered to find out for the benefit of the Mont Pelerin economists. They discovered that the Hammonds and others had taken their 'information' from the most partial sort of investigation. In 1932, a Parliamentary body known as 'Sadler's Committee' undertook to investigate factory conditions as a prelude to shaping legislation for a 'Ten Hours Bill'. Sadler himself, the author of the proposed legislation, presided at the inquiries. He called his own witnesses, first. Then, ignoring the demands of elementary justice, he immediately published the evidence that supported his own contentions. As Hutt remarks: 'to say that the report is one-sided as regards the evidence contained in it would be a mild criticism. It consists . . . of carefully selected instances.' Moreover, Sadler presented the abuses of thirty years past as though they were still in operation. From such partisan materials is the written history of early industrial capitalism made."

True, Ashton admits, the factory towns were crowded in that day. "But what towns, he asks, would not have been crowded after twenty years of Napoleonic upheaval? From 1795 to 1815 England was occupied with the spectre of a continental tyrant and conqueror." As Chamberlain put it, England in the throes of a great war coming at the time of an industrial revolution naturally suffered from wartime inflation troubles, with lack of building materials, etc. "It may be nominally correct to blame the new miseries on the spread of industry. But a demurrer should have been entered at the very start by any fair-minded historian . . ." So what? "This great revision in historical writing may seem important only to specialists. But in fact it has tremendous practical significance. For it was by misinterpreting the past that left-wing intellectuals got their leverage on the present. If capitalism had been a villian, what more plausible than to look for socialist alternatives?"

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